[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

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Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into subgroups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Châib.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz and a. Ggâhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffûf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.	619 634 632 613 621 173 [166]
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.	
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.	

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins	
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.		
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.	
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous.	[166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmel-len.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.	
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.	
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin.	[792] [166]

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 619 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Âbdella, 634 632 is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as 613 follows:

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Âmer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'âq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Âmer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lâsri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

166 173 619

634 184 101 619 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And nevertheless in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./ A
It is divided as follows:

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Traditional ancestor	Sub-groups	Ikhs'	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
	a. Daud.	a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
		a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		a. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. n Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

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[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

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[For information on the council of the agadir -- a body of notables who see to the functioning, maintenance and security of the cantons or moudas agadirs (store houses) -- see categories 571 and 343.]

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
*631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
*634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we
shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

*632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/37 cont./

•632 162 activity is paralyzed by the presence of a sizable Israelite colony -- 12,000 inhabitants, more than half of the total population -- remain confined in the lower occupations and do not get to play the role of citizens.

000 Finally, Taroudant rises in a favorable site among gardens fertilized by the water of the river, in the middle of the triangular plain bordered by the Atlas and Anti-Atlas. The crossing of two great natural roads, that of the very valley of the Sous and the route from the oases of Aqqa and Tisint to the Tizi n Test and Marrakech, makes a center destined, it seems, by the general layout of the land, to become a true Berbère /Berber/ capital. Moreover, this town takes the place of another identical city, Igli, vanished since the epoch of the Almohades. Nevertheless, Taroudant has remained above all the residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, the seat of the Arab governors. Ruined and sacked more than ten times in the course of history, it has been most often repopulated, thanks to foreigners, Arabs, black slaves, and Riffians, and at present one finds behind its /38/ old crenelated walls only 8,000 inhabitants confined in a miserable existence.

The Sous has formerly known other cities of lesser importance that were doubtless spontaneous creations of the autochthons and lived exclusively under Berbère /Berber/ laws. Such were probably Aghmat and Nefis at the foot of the northern Dir of the Atlas. But they were simple village-like agglomerations established around a market in prosperous olive-groves, as Amismiz [361] [443] /Amizmiz/ and Imi n Tanout are today. The leaders of the first dynasties of the South, the Maghrawa and Idrissites /Idrisids/, applied themselves to developing and beautifying them, until the time when the founding of Marrakech by the Almoravides brought about little by little their economic and political decline.

Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ describes to us also, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, other small towns in which the inhabitants sheltered their harvests and which were

/38 cont./

000 surrounded by ramparts of dry stone (1).

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1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 134-235.

Such were the small fortresses of the Haha, grouped especially on the edges of the Qsob wadi and the Tensift, which disappeared under the combined effort of the Arabs and Portuguese. Each of them had several thousand inhabitants who governed themselves according to the same rules as are observed in our day by the independent mountain tribes. One might ask, moreover, whether the existence of these small cities is not explained above all by the dire necessity in which the sedentary plains people found themselves, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, of defending their goods and their harvests against the attacks of the nomads. Subsequently, when the Arabs had stopped stirring up the country by their incursions, were dispersed among the Berbère tribes and attached to the soil in their turn, one no longer saw reappearing the small towns "girded with rough stone" that the Portuguese wars had caused to disappear and whose usefulness moreover no longer made itself felt; the whole population has been dispersed since then in the same region in detached houses and in minuscule hamlets, as we can easily observe today.

361 In the absence of big towns in which the Berbères are only strangers, or small cities that did not withstand the war, in our day the Sous knows no sizable centers other than the ones that appear at the very foot of the Atlas, on the line of the /39/ springs or at the beginning of the highways of the Deren; such are, for example, Amismiz, Imi n Tanout, Mneizla, Bou L'ajlat and Talekjont, whose prosperity depends on the wealth of their crops and the activity of their markets at the junction point of the plain and mountain. But these big villages, whose population 361 reaches a thousand inhabitants, are most often made up of sev- 632 eral distinct quarters, separate hamlets that constitute small

/39 cont./

361 political units opposed to one another (1).
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1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

361 The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike.
184 When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

361 On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive
712 aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while
184 the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "ʿazib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often bear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. The internal fractionizing and the political divisions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

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*631 [152] forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids. At the center of their *631 712 domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work [632] in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Teïwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the casbahs [343] [251] one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects [651] come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; finally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground [697] vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is not alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kaid's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nefis, of the Aït Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Aït ʿAddi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

/147 cont./

121 transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who
124 have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

121 Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the
131 boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way
*631 to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
121 tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears
*631 in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

621 The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can
*634 be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest
•632 is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form
*631 the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten
619 villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/148 cont./

621 villages and hamlets, the hierarchical organization of Berbère
*634 /Berber/ society does not present characteristics of absolute uni-
•632 formity, which, moreover, would be irreconcilable with the
*631 variety of life. Thus, sometimes confederations do not exist,
619 and tribes /149/ represent the largest groups; at other times, small units having the average dimensions of a "fraction" are found in the high mountains, independent and isolated; finally, it happens that big villages like those that develop at the beginning of high valleys have sufficient importance to form subfractions by themselves. These exceptions, moreover, mark with more force the individuality of the various groups whose nature we shall try to define here.

621 From now on it must be noted that the Berbères /Berbers/
*634 scarcely know how to apply distinct names to these various organ-
632 isms that the needs of our administrative policy oblige us to
*631 distinguish. They most often designate them by the vague term
619 of "taqbilt" (1),
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1. Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "qbila," tribe. One will be able to note that the terms of the political vocabulary of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous are nearly all Arabic: "taqbilt," "mouda^{c}," "jemaa," "moqaddem," etc.

The terms of subfraction, fraction, tribe, confederation exist only in our administrative terminology; we shall define each of these groups by its institutions. The term "fraction" is, as one will see, particularly inappropriate, since this little state -- whose name implies that it is the part of a whole, the tribe -- actually has more definite characteristics than the higher organism.

For this reason we shall often use here the term "canton" in preference to "fraction."

and in their minds these social groups that we are striving to separate in order to understand their nature better are simple

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
•632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2),
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2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif, seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
128 summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/151 cont./

621 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert"
613 (1),

1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "ʿadam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a
[103] separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: Iʿaisaten, the sons of ʿAisa; Taourirt n Aʾit lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like
• 632 the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "moudaʿ" (3)

3. From the Arabic "moudaʿ," place. Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this group ("Organisation sociale et domestique

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/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

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and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfraction. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and especially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" possesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands, its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

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*634 166 609 states are stable, have traditional borders, and do not contain within their frontiers any foreigner who might refer to "brothers" of a neighboring fraction.

-632 *634 A territory of eight to ten kilometers in diameter, three or four "mouda^{c}" that gather together in all the population of about 15 hamlets, at other times only one or two large villages, like those found in the summit region, in all two to three hundred hearths, thus suffice in order to constitute a small autonomous

*634 131 Berbère /Berber/ republic and to form a "canton." The borders of this canton are not always established according to the natural geographical borders; if each high valley most often has its "taqbilt," it is because the country's natural division into compartments is set precisely at the dimensions that correspond to a small state of a few hundred families; but when it is a matter of a long watercourse, such as the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, each small state carves out the area that it needs in the valley and establishes itself in its way within the too-large borders traced out by Nature.

*634 619 It is indeed the unity of the territory, the concern for defending it or increasing it that create among the families of the same canton a lasting social bond; and not, as the natives themselves often believe, the feeling of a common origin. Even though the name given to the taqbilt (Aït Lhasen, Aït ^{c}Abdallah, Aït Mousa) tends sometimes to make one suppose that all its inhabitants are the sons of a /154/ common ancestor, it is easy to see that this belief is pure illusion. We have mentioned the importance of the

*634 166 economic factors that create even within the Sous region a constant human circulation. The high mountains in the region that we are studying here do not escape these population movements; it even seems that the ethnic "brassage" /mixing, stirring/ might be more active here. In one of the cantons of the Aghbar, among the Aït Lemsour, for example, out of 17 families or "ikhs" settled in the country, not one considers itself autochthonous; in the neighboring country of the Seksawa, which the inhabitants of the plain are apt to regard as the territory of a very ancient tribe, one finds pell-mell families that came from other mountain tribes of

/185 cont./

174 leagues that gradually united all the Berbère /Berber/ republics
*631 in the same friendships and the same hatreds. These alliances
*634 were given the Arabic name of "leff" or the Chleuh /Shluh/
616 name of "amqon" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ qqen (to attach, to bind). Compare: Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, I, p. 25 (eqqen, to harness), and de Foucauld, Dict. Touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 516.

*634 The small territorial groups that entered into these systems of
616 alliance in the high mountains were isolated "taqbilt" constituted
• [632] in the form that we have already studied at length; nearer the Dir,
[621] they were "khoms" or "rba^{c}," fractions of tribes having the same size as the "taqbilt" of the summits; as an exception, weaker units, "mouda^{c}" or subfractions, especially in the vicinity of the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, made use of one or the other of the two leffs.

No precise rule permits one to explain a priori the mode of distribution of the two leffs.

By examining the map, drawn up after numerous investigations, one distinguishes, however, some general principles for the balance of the parties. It happens rarely, first of all, that a "taqbilt" would be entirely isolated from its allies, and the communications that it /186/ preserves with the other cantons seem to be established most often by way of the cols and the lines of crests. In the mountains two or three units belonging to the same
*634 alliance are frequently found side by side. On the contrary, the
616 big valleys or the roads that constitute natural routes of penetra-
491 tion are occupied by small opposed groups almost rigorously alter-
361 nated. The Aghbar, the Ogdemt, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, the road of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho offer particularly striking examples of these modes of distribution. Only the great mass of the Seksawa, which groups closely five cantons of the leff of the

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*634 121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 621 ▸632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Mouda^{c}." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "mouda^{c}." The "mouda^{c}" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a [539] second wife late in life. A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

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632 621 [592] When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

[554] [613] 623 [346] The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a [212] [755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets [358] [574] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systematic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its activity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the [185] [241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for [245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when [624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[778] [787] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done [423] on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
[185] nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

623 Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
627 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
681 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
[625] most often each "jema^{c}t" of a "mouda^{c}" fixes these penalties as it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
[671] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
[177] "mouda^{c}" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
[632] tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "mouda^{c}" often assumes great local importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses, the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jema^{c}t" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
[346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
[361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

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1. It may happen that the organization of the "mouda^{c}" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "mouda^{c}." One also sees from

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/footnote 1 continued/ this how difficult it can be at certain stages of the constitution of small Berbère /Berber/ societies to distinguish the subfraction from the fraction, or the fraction from the tribe.

*634 II. The council of the canton. -- The "taqbilt" council forms the essential institution of the little autonomous republic of a Berbère /Berber/ canton. While the "jemaᶜt" of the [632] "moudaᶜ" [623] is, in appearance at least, democratic, since it brings together all the household heads, the representation of the families in the bosom of the council of the "taqbilt" preserves a more marked oligarchic character. Each "ikhs" is in fact represented by a single one of its members. Often, even, each hamlet [613] [621] may delegate only a single person designated by a turn, which changes every year, /221/ among the heads of the various families [556] of the place. Usually it is considered that in order to become a member of the council of the canton, which is also sometimes called the "diwan," it is advisable to be rich in order to be able, in turn, to receive the tribal council fittingly in one's house; it is good, moreover, to be clever at government and "to know how to speak in the assemblies" (1).

1. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/ p. 6.

Sometimes tradition requires the representative of a family to speak in the name of a certain number of households -- ten in the south of the Haha, twenty among the Ida Ou Tanan (Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun).

The members of the "diwan" or canton council are most often called, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "the Aït Arbaᶜin" -- the forty. It is not without interest to note that this term "Aït Arbaᶜin" designates in almost all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco,

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*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
597 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
•632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
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621 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each
•632 time for several days, and in which first place is given to
*634 nocturnal dances (2).
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2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

796 53 The spectacle of these festivities is one of the most attractive in Berbère /Berber/ country. In the middle of each of the ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their [361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest

343 /254/ They are large square houses, provided on the exterior with a single door that leads to a central courtyard onto which open four or five floors of small rooms. Access to each [417] of them is by a crude ladder carved in a tree trunk in "y" shape and by suspended passageways -- "isfoula" -- that run from one room to another. Sometimes a complete "isfoula" passageway even turns like a spiral along the four interior façades so as to run between all the floors of the agadir.

Each household possesses a variable number of rooms in the collective storehouse, two or three on the average, utilized especially for storing grain. The door of the agadir usually stays open during the day; the key is kept indiscriminately by the one of the inhabitants who comes first to use it in the morning, for there is no guard designated by the community. The hamlet [712] "agadir" is nothing like a fortress; used by a small group of households, it has the appearance of a familial storehouse. Most often the construction is ancient and the walls are falling in ruins; new storehouses have not been built any more for a long time, it seems. In many hamlets of the Deren, they are entirely ruined and are not restored. Thus the use of these little storehouses tends to be lost, and each one becomes accustomed more and more to keeping his harvests and his provisions in his own house.

343 184 But there exist also in the same regions other, larger agadirs in which a whole "mouda^{c}" or sometimes even a "taqbilt" comes • [632] to put its grain under shelter. This institution is still very much [621] alive among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, in some cantons of the * [634] Seksawa, and among the Aït Gaïr and Aït Tigidar of the mountain Gedmiwa. In the region of the summits of the Sirwa these 343 large storehouses, remaining more numerous, often take on the 712 aspect of fortresses. Then they are large rectangular constructions 184 that enclose three or four floors of chambers for provisions; they are flanked for defense by two or four carefully placed corner towers. The agadirs of the Aït Waouzgit, built on positions easy to defend, surrounded by a rampart behind which is found the mosque, the storehouse of the jema^{c}a, that of the marabouts, /255/ the rest chambers for the guard, and a house reserved for the deliberations of the notables, truly concentrate all the social

/378 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aît Arba^{c}in in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jema^{c}a" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by